The Labour Organiser

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Article 2

Election Preparation

So much for what Election Preparation means, and the tasks that are involved. A glance at some of the articles to appear in this series* will illuminate the future for us; for the present the hints given in our last issue, and they were many, should be read again, and acted upon.

Now here is to-day's position in the majority of constituencies: A candidate has been selected and a fight is definitely intended; the person who will act as election agent is understood—or one or two are short-listed; some money for the election fund is possibly in hand, or will definitely be forthcoming, but a varying proportion, or even all of it, has to be raised between now and the date for paying claims; and, while it is understood that the Party has a big task in front of it, nothing much, or nothing at all, has yet been done by way of preparation, except, of course, a few meetings, some literature distribution, and an odd job or two of what is really routine work. Let no one tell us we are wrong!

Let no one tell us we are wrong!

How like Micawber we are! That in face of what we are saying is a drift to war, a dire peril to Democracy, and our shudders at the fright of Fascism! Tell me a fleet, or find me a sailor man who would drift into an engagement without "clearing for action."

See panel on page 90.

Reading last night a buccaneer yarn of boyhood's days, by way of renewing youth, we read again how they prepared for action. And thoroughly they did it. The whole ship knew; from keel to top gallant mast, on deck and under deck, starboard to larboard, heel to stem, all was put taut and tight; men, guns, ammunition, every part of the ship, above water and below it, was alive when they "cleared for action." And these men passed down a lesson of readiness for us in shining records of daring do.

CALL D.L.P. MEETINGS.

Every Divisional Party in Labour's far-flung fighting line should to-day "clear for action." The Party should meet to consider the situation in its constituency in relation to the coming General Election — if the election doesn't come, well, we do as sailormen do when danger has past, and be thankful we were ready when the crisis came.

Don't suppose that haphazard consideration of Election Preparation at any meeting is going to help. Fact is, the officers, the agent, the E.C., either of them, or all of them as the case may be, have a job to do first, and the business for the Party meeting itself needs preparation.

The object of the Divisional meeting is to excite interest and attention; to

get results therefrom; to get discussion of plans, and approval for them; to get authority for others; and to decide major questions of policy relating to a contest.

The principal officers can spend a useful couple of hours together preparing for the Divisional meeting, and where there is an agent, quite a lot of material and data should be available for examination.

GET PREPARATIONS FORWARD.

Matters that one expects to go before the Divisional meeting are:

(a) A financial report of the state and prospects of the election fund, with suitable recommendations.

(b) A detailed report of the membership and position of the Party in

each ward or area.

(c) Suggestions for strengthening the Party in the interim before the election.

(d) The naming of a prospective

election agent.

(e) Some general indications as to the lines on which the officers consider the contest should be run.

If the Divisional meeting is to serve the right purpose, the officers, and the agent, if any, must give prior and detailed consideration to every one of the above matters. Preparation of reports is essential, and proposals for improving the organisation should be definite and practical.

The meeting, which, needless to say, the candidate should attend, will want a lead on most matters, and careful preparation will avoid that floundering and helplessness one sometimes sees. But no Party must get the impression that everything is cut and dried. Well-thought-out plans will almost always "go through," if only because of the absence of counterplans, but the iron heel will kill the proper spirit and leave its mark throughout the election; soundness of plan, democratic readiness to accomdetails, and an appeal to modate Socialist instincts, will accomplish wonders. What one strives for in these meetings is to excite that sense of elevation and exaltation which transforms a Party and ensures agreement, response and all sorts of offers of sacrifice.

Let us take the subjects abovementioned in their order. Careful preconsideration of the election finances is essential. Now is the time for plain facts to be faced. Vague promises, wherever they may come from, should be probed and not relied upon.

If the candidate is "financed" or has agreed to contribute (matters which should have been reduced to concrete figures on the nomination form) now is the time to secure confirmation and agreement as to how and when these funds will be available. A banking account for election funds is necessary, and it is desirable for the election agent to open a separate account when the time comes to begin the election.

This is not the time to prepare a detailed election budget. All that is necessary is to have a general idea of gross expenditure in different directions and make a total. Past experience is a sure guide, and one

OUR ELECTION PREPARATION SERIES

- ¶ Number sheets and how to use them.
- Hints on the election canvass.
- The writing-up at an election.
- Publicity: How to get it and what to avoid.
- ¶ Election literature: Some hints and examples.
- Women's work at an election.
- I How to present policy.
- Committee room management.
- Managing meetings.
- ¶ A look at the Agent's job.
- ¶ Simple outline of the law of elections.
- ¶ Illegal practices from a practical angle.
- Polling day hints.
- ¶ Election Accounts: how to keep them, etc., etc.

should not for sentiment sake fail to advocate boldly increased expenditure if necessary. On the other hand, election costs have steadily decreased since 1918, and as our Party strengthens its position, the result ought to be seen in reduced expenditure at elections.

THE ELECTION FUND.

Financial recommendations at this stage concern the gross amount it is contemplated should be raised, and the pre-election efforts to be made to raise that sum.

Each constituency has its own most suitable methods, but boldness should be the keynote of them all. To be poor and to conceal the fact is to half deserve one's poverty, whatever moralists and economists may say! And it is so with Local Labour Parties, and more so over their election funds.

There is no shame in asking for funds to save civilisation, to abolish poverty, to establish Socialism, or to create a New Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land!

Collecting cards, begging letters, special efforts, T.U., Co-op., and other appeals, all are needed and justified. But don't conceal the cost, or the object of it; on the contrary the unfailing way to raise money is to advertise what one wants, and keep shouting about it.

In giving a detailed statement of membership and the Party's position in each area, pessimism must be avoided just as much as concealment. Often the difference is merely one of manner and treatment of the subject. Difficulties don't daunt the brave, and Socialists used to have stout hearts.

Avoid, also, seeming to censure any locals or discouraging them. But small mercy on those inevitable crokers if they try to spoil the work; and have none at all where it is certain some solitary croker represents his area and sings a lone song of despair.

We advocate a special election preparation meeting in each area to discuss locally what specially concerns it. Cover the Division with such meetings, each of which should be attended by a principal officer or the agent.

This does not dispose of divisional efforts to strengthen the machinery. It

is advisable now to circularise all lapsed members and old workers with a renewed warm invitation to rejoin the Party. The circulars should exude the scent of battle: lots of old soldiers never die; they fade away—to reappear at rumour's call.

Almost always the first review of a Party's fitness to contest discloses appalling gaps in the ranks. Not near enough canvassers, not enough distributors even for a good first delivery. One is better equipped perhaps for writers, but for typists, messengers, speakers, committee room workers, leading boys and ladies (i.e., beads of departments), fetchers-up, etc., one is almost always "shorter than last time."

Labour's army is not like a military machine where those do the chores who are told off to do them. "nice soft job" of election agent often finds competitors. Not so the humdrum and heart-aching work on the canvass. And perhaps the election agent himself is at fault here. The agent who commands respect give an order for a job he wouldn't do himself, and to give a lesson in canvassing to the workers is even more a part of an agent's duties than speaking over the mike. Workers must be trained to do the less popular jobs, and encouraged for their work in other capacities. Parties and agents who take everybody's work without ever a word of recognition don't understand humans.

TRAINING CLASSES NOW.

One of the best ways of recruiting workers is to utilise the "What will I do card." This is virtually a canvass of members and supporters and a census of their undertakings to help. We reproduce below an illustration which appeared in No. 1 of the "Labour Organiser" (August, 1920) and which has been referred to many times since.

This card, which we first used in 1918, has proved itself as a useful preelection device, and though one must discount many promises, one gets lots that are new and useful, besides which the card acts as an education to supporters, showing them in what way they can help their Cause. The card is intended to be distributed to every member and delegate. One of the methods to improve the Party should be the establishment of training classes for election workers, or at least the arrangement of a series of meetings where the best election methods can be explained and made familiar by simple illustration and discussion.

Conservatism still hampers our style in hosts of election contests. We do as our fathers did (or our forefathers) and for no better reason than that. Newer, quicker, more apt and scientific ways progress slowly. Nor is that all: even the elementary tasks are often ill-understood and badly done. Training only can remedy this.

The Labour Party Registrar of Study Courses has, we believe, under consideration a plan to provide a course of preparation in constituencies where it can be arranged by the institution of a series of lectures to be given to selected persons by competent workers in the Party. We believe that an announcement will shortly be made.

And now as to the appointment of an election agent.

THE ELECTION AGENT.

The number of qualified and available persons is all too small. Labour is short of election agents, but that shortage ought not to mean the appointment of thoroughly unsuitable persons—as has happened.

Again the matter is largely one of training; but not altogether. A factor is the parochialism of well-fortified Labour strongholds. The latter places export speakers, but rarely organisers. Why? Were these places won without organisation, or do such people have to stay where the job is easy? Truly a better distribution of Labour's resources (and a greater readiness to impart knowledge) would help much in this problem.

Regarding election agents' pay, this is usually decided according to circumstances. The minimum to offer a person engaged for payment should be an agent's weekly wage, for the period of the election, and for a sufficient time afterwards to cover the clearing-up duties, plus an allowance, if from home, for lodgings, etc. A good agent is worth his cost, and it is not anti-Socialist to pay well for brains, energy, qualification, and knowledge.

It should be noted that no one should

The Labour Party "WHAT-WILL-I-DO" CARD.
Being a census of our Willing Workers.
I promise to help secure a ringing Labour Victory by :
Canvassing house-to-house ————————————————————————————————————
Canvassing friends, work- mates.
Helping at meetings. Writing in Committee
Acting as cyclist (my bike). ————————————————————————————————————
Showing bills, etc. Lending Committee Room. Distributing bills, etc.
Acting as messenger. Loaning conveyance.
Mark X opposite your promises.
Name
Address

be set to work as election agent as yet. Like a candidate, the agent now selected is "prospective" and intended to act when the election commences. That does not prevent plans being drawn up and mutually considered, nor does it prevent, or make illegal, the employment of the prospective election agent, in the period prior to the election, provided he is so engaged as the Party's organiser (the proper rates are to be obtained on application to the National Agent).

THANK YOU.

No.....

Ward.....Reg.

(To be continued)

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PROPAGANDA

The number of Conferences held during recent months by the Labour Party Agricultural Campaign Committee, and arranged through the Propaganda Department of the Party, totalled over forty.

The Farmers' Union were represented at most of the conferences, and good publicity was otherwise secured.

A Summer Rural Campaign has been arranged to cover 50 constituencies, and bookings of speakers has been actively going on for some time. Two loud-speaker vans, at least, will be fully-equipped all the summer on the campaign. An additional van is contemplated for work in Scotland.

The Clarion Campaign Committee (see article in this issue) also has two campaign groups at work covering 25 constituencies; in some cases, however, the same Divisions are covered by the Party campaign.

The L.P. Propaganda Department has arranged a number of day schools on various aspects of Party policy. Week-end schools are also being arranged in three or four centres.

L.P. LOUD-SPEAKER VANS.

Labour's modest fleet of touring loud-speaker vans steadily increases. With the latest addition, there are now five vans equipped with loudspeaker apparatus on tour. Coupled with the large number of portable equipments (the majority of Film Industries' design) in the possession of Local Parties, Labour's armoury in this respect is now not inconsiderable. Labour speakers need to cultivate the "mike" habit, because amplified and "canned" speech is only in its infancy. Hardy any Parliamentary candidates are left who have not faced the mike. and if only to save their voices it is Hundreds of locals, good for them. too, have secured practice. But just as frank criticism is given in training classes for speakers, so should mike speakers be told kindly of their shortcomings: at present they are many.

AREA PROPAGANDA ASSOCIATIONS.

A recent development in Labour Party organisation, resulting in the formation of a Propaganda Association for Bristol and a large surrounding area, under a constitution approved by the N.E.C., will be watched with considerable interest.

The organisation indicated is known as the Bristol and District Labour Propaganda Association, and its Management Committee includes two representatives each from the Wiltshire, Somerset and Gloucestershire Federations, and the Bristol Borough L.P.; together with one representative each from the L.O.Y. and the Women's Advisory Committee (presumably from each county) plus "eight representatives of individual workers."

The Association is manifestly an experiment, though others are contemplated elsewhere, and it will be conceived that the definite work alloted to this body meets in great part the real desire behind some recent agitation. We don't know.

In the latter connection we note that membership is confined to members of the Labour Party "who are prepared to devote themselves strictly to advancing the Labour Party's Programme, Principles and Policy as laid down by the Annual Party Conference"

The Association has no power over the local organisations in its area, but its opportunities for initiative and cooperation are to be considerable, and it may tender its services to encourage (a) the organisation of public meetings; (b) canvassing; (c) sales of Party literature; and (d) the distribution of Party literature.

The Association's activities will also include the recruitment and training of speakers and lecturers for educational work; it is to collate information for the guidance of speakers and arrange for discussion groups, press correspondence, etc.; it will also organise day and week-end schools.

We are sure our readers will watch this development with hope and

interest.

LITERATURE

FOR LITERATURE SECRETARIES.

Two new pamphlets are announced by the Labour Party in a new series which is a delight to those of us who desire the Party to remember that its main propaganda should be the Socialist creed.

Penny Pointers to Socialism - the title of the new series-pleases us. No. r pamphlet in the series is "Planning or Chaos," by Fred Henderson. No. 2 is to be "An Easy Outline," by

Herbert Morrison.

These are two bulls'-eyes to start with, and being attractively dressed, and of handy pocket size, they should tempt literature secretaries to stock well-and reap the reward.

By the way, we understand that a revised edition of the Unemployed Assistance Guide is in preparation.

Labour's "Miniature Book Club" is not so well known as it ought to be, and to be known, ought to mean, to be made use of. By joining "the Book Club," one gets, for only 5/- a year, every new pamphlet (under 6d.) as issued, every new leaflet, every new poster, and Party reports — all post free. This is exceedingly good value; and the proposition should tempt hordes of secretaries and supporters who desire to be up to date, wellinformed and well-equipped.

REVIEWS.

"Socialism and the Standard of Living"-being a report by the S.J. Committee of Women's Organisations, as presented to the Women's Conference. Price One Penny. The Labour Party.

"The wage-earner tends to think of the standard of living in terms of the pounds or shillings which are earned every week, the housewife who spends the income thinks naturally in terms of what the money will buy," so says the report; and it is right. We should like this paniphlet and its facts and conclusions to be read and understood by the rank and file of Trade Unionists.

It matters to them. But it is probable they will only get the message by virtue of the superior political education of members Women's Sections.

"What's Wrong With the Schools?" by T. Ashcroft. Price 3d. N.C.L.C.

Publishing Society.

Education to-day is a tool of Government - a dictum always true and as true to-day as ever. Indeed, so true is it that we ourselves have protested against our little ones being left to the tender mercies and training of a pro-war and pro-capitalist educational system. Have we not again and again urged Labour to begin with the children? That, of course, is not Mr. Ashcroft's theme. He indicts, and does it well. And the indictment is a long and weighty one: there is not much education for education's sake in the modern "system."

SOCIALIST BOOK CLUB.

Our readers will doubtless be keenly interested in the announcement of the Socialist Book Club, which appears

on another page.

From the rank and file of our Movement, and certainly from ranks of that great section of soberminded, enthusiastic and genuinely Socialist men and women who lead it in the country, has come a demand for access, at a cheap rate, to good books; they want to be supplied, too, with books that examine policy, economy and philosophy, being of Communist extraction.

The names of supporters given in the advertisement are an indication that the Socialist Book Club is no Communist flat-trap, and that sound

value is to be forthcoming.

(Concluded from page 100) recent by-election (North Islington), held on the day before the expiry of

the 1936-37 Register, the number of names due for deletion on a Register of approximately 64,000, amounted to 22,000 or 34.4 per cent."

By PETER PAIN

Clarion Rural Campaign

If you are enjoying the quiet of the West Country on your holiday this year, your peace may be rudely disturbed by the blaring of a loudspeaker: "Good evening, people of Nether Wallop! This is the Clarion Rural Campaign calling." Nor will you avoid us if you go to the Lake District instead. For we shall be there just the same, attacking the Tories in their strongholds.

The Clarion Rural Campaign is a holiday camping tour for young Socialists, which does propaganda work in the rural areas for the local Labour Parties in association with the Labour Party Agricultural Campaign. Young people from all sections of the Labour movement spend a week or a fortnight with us; contact with rural conditions and with comrades from all over the country widens their political experience. No one who has not been on the campaign can appreciate what good fun it is. At the same time it does valuable work where it is most needed.

The campaign was begun in 1933 and has become increasingly popular and successful. This year our activities will be doubled, as we are running The Southern tour will start from Winchester and cover the West Country, concentrating on Devon and Cornwall; the Northern tour will begin in Cheshire and move north over the Lancashire moors to the Lake District. Each tour commences in June and ends in September. The constituencies to be visited have been chosen in consultation with the Labour Party in order that the Clarion Rural Campaign shall play its full part in the big drive in the rural areas; at the same time they provide full opportunities for an enjoyable holiday.

The Clarion is a boon to the secretary of a village Labour Party, who has one of the most difficult jobs in the Labour movement. His area is at least that of a metropolitan borough. The slow moving life of the countryside makes it difficult to stir up any enthusiasm, except at election times. Indeed, outside strong Labour areas he finds it difficult to do more than hold the recruits which each election brings.

After years of work advertising the Labour Party, he meets the inevitable new member, who says, "Oh, why didn't you let me know there was a Local Party?"

By a thorough canvass the Clarion ensures that people shall know this. The loudspeaker lorry tours the village announcing the evening meeting. People come to the door to see what the noise is, and there they meet a persuasive campaigner armed with all the latest literature and all the best arguments. Those who will not join the Party are asked to buy a 1d. pam-We developed literature sales considerably last year, and they amounted to 3,300. Our task is easier now that the Labour Party has produced Your Britain. It is extraordinarily simple to sell an attractive 1d. pamphlet. Those who will not buy one are given a leaflet about Labour's policy and particulars of the evening meeting are left at every house.

After several campaigns we have concluded that it is best to canvass in the morning, rest and enjoy ourselves in the afternoon and hold meetings in the evening. The canvass is more important than the meeting, and if made in the evening would find more of the men at home. But a meeting has a very cheering effect on the local Socialists, and can only be held successfully in the evenings. The campaigners are on holiday and can hardly be expected to canvass all day. Besides, it is part of our task to train young comrades in public speaking, and the village green provides an excellent school.

We have developed constantly closer relations with local Labour Parties. Where we have really good co-operation, our work is twice as effective. A Clarion Campaign provides a good focal point for the summer, especially as it is usually rather a difficult time for politics. Results depend largely on the care with which the ground is prepared and the vigour with which our efforts are followed up. Local parties meet the campaigners as soon as they arrive and usually arrange socials or

(Concluded on page 98)

NO DIVISIONAL OR BOROUGH LABOUR PARTY SHOULD BE WITHOUT A MONTHLY PAPER.

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YOUTH

Youth will be served: so runs the adage. And to-day Youth is being served by the Labour Party with a vengeance. What will the harvest be?

As we write the pile of papers from the Party, all devoted to Youth, stacks

If modern Youth reads all, there is

plenty to read.

If it thinks, there is ample for the

brain pan. It ought to get going.
First, the report of the League's Annual Conference. Limelight, footlights and high lights.

In the Report, Youth shows up at its best—and its less than best. We read it for inspiration and got it.

We also got the rest—out of the less than best (no pun). The problems of Youth organisation shine through the mist in each discussion.

More League of Youth Conferences are coming; local ones, to implement

the good resolve of London. These are delegate conferences drawn from D.L.P.s., L.L.P.s., T.U.s., and L.O.Y.s.

The conference will hear about organising Youth for Socialism; the L.O.Y. purpose; branch organisation, and L.O.Y. work.

And despite Youth, we, the moderns, will continue to spell "organisation" like that—in the modern way. That lag last letter of the alphabet doesn't tempt the "wise" to spell that word this "wize," so why "organization"?

Seeing the circulars, please agree the Conference Summons are good. They'll pull the people if the adults

want and will be pulled.

To grip Youth itself, and even to stir the old folk is "Help us to win a better future"; a revised, re-titled pennyworth, 16 pp. Sets out Socialist objects and Labour Youth's functions and methods.

"The Labour Party League of Youth 'Organization' Bulletin' (duplicated) has arrived. Nos. 1 and 2 are "out."

The young lady taking down these notes looks at the clock and advises "make it snappy." But we cannot with that title! Again, we eX.Y."Z" in "organization" (pun)].

The Bulletin (we suggest future issues might be shorter) is meaty and gives the news. There are such shoals of suggestions that we cannot repeat all. Go by the book.

And, by the way, "Advance" is, in future, to be the official organ of the

L.O.Y. Honour to the brave!

(Concluded from page 96)

teas, at which their members can meet them. These are a great success and lead to many friendships, between Socialists in the cities and the villages.

Our programme this year is ambiti-But we have no doubt that we shall succeed. We are hoping that 1939 will see a still bigger programme of four campaigns. We shall need £350 and 300 campaigners. Will those who would like to offer money, help or advice or ask for more information, please write to the Secretary, William Waters, 25, Northumberland Road, London, E.17.

HONOUR THE OLD BRIGADE.

A few years ago the Local Labour Party in Wells, Somerset, went out for existence. Wells is a "backward area" for Labour propaganda, and to maintain an active organisation requires great courage on the part of comrades who tackle the job.

Some weeks ago the Local Party was revived. There came to the meeting an elderly lady who had not lost courage or faith during the years when there were no other comrades to keep the Labour flag flying. Every month she had had the supply of The Labour Woman, and had trudged round weekly, summer and winter, delivering the copies to her readers.

Well done, Mrs. Austin! We salute vour devotion and example and wish there were several thousands of you in

rural Britain.

She brought and handed over, to give the Local Party a new start, the sum of £3, the profit on her sales, over the years.

(From "The Labour Woman" for May.)

SALES

The Literature Drive throughout the Movement was inaugurated just a year ago, and some details of progress made may interest readers.

Sales of pamphlets for 1937 were over 800 per cent, up on 1936. For the first four months of 1938 we are nearly 300 per cent, up on the similar

period of 1937.

The worst two months for literature sales (in all branches) are November and December, but the six-month figure from November 1st last to April 30th, 1938, shows a sale of 705,000 pamphlets, 3½ million leaflets, and 20,000 posters.

Speakers report from all parts that the habit of having literature stalls and special stewards for literature sales is growing, and orders at Transport House show a much wider field is now being covered in this respect.

One of our difficulties in getting information of new literature to local Party members is the fact that Ward Secretaries are not registered at Head Office. The matter has been examined again lately, but the cost is prohibitive.

To meet this, the Annual Literature Subscription has been reduced from 7/6 to 5/- per annum, and now includes specimen copies of all new posters. For this nominal sum, any individual, Ward Secretary, Trade Union Branch Secretary, etc., can be registered at Head Office and receive immediately on publication, a copy of each new leaflet, poster and pamphlet for twelve months, post free from date subscription is paid.

We recommend Divisional Parties, particularly in the Boroughs, to consider registering their Ward Secretaries in this way. The receipt of new literature will promote discussion and interest in the Ward meetings and keep all the "key" officials in the Division up to date. It may also save some of that reference to and from Executives to Wards, which sometimes delays action on leaflet distribution, etc., for three or more weeks.

The much greater use of double

By MAURICE HACKETT

crown posters is very encouraging. We hear frequent reports of Parties who are beginning to build their own Divisional Poster and Publicity service. This is done by making attractive, framed poster boards, painting them in the local Party colours, and then building up the service with the help of persons attached to the Movement and members who are prepared to show a poster on their porch, fence, railing, outhouse, in fact, anywhere where a poster will be seen.

where a poster will be seen.

A specimen poster board can be obtained from Head Office at 3/-, car-

riage paid.

Open-air propaganda will be in full swing by the month end. Special arrangements should be made to have a supply of literature at each open-air meeting, and a steward appointed to effect sales.

An announcement from the Chairman of the meeting of certain pamphlets available will always help the sales.

A very light portable literature stand and notice board combined is obtainable from Head Office at 10/6 carriage paid, and it is designed especially for use at ordinary street corner meetings.

Speakers' Notes, in handy card form, to slip in the side pocket, are issued every week on Mondays, and can be obtained from Head Office at 10/- per year. Party members can have the scrvice at 2/6 per quarter if they find it more convenient. Away with the "one speech." Here's a new, up-to-theminute speech each week, with all essential facts and figures, presented with proper headings, etc., which the local speaker can make use of at once.

South Kensington, near Earl's Court station. Comfortably furnished Divansitting rooms from 17/6 a week. Double rooms from 30/- a week. Breakfasts if required. Also Nightly Terms. Hot water in rooms. Quiet house. Garden. S. John Gee, 99, Lexham Gardens, W.8. 'Phone WES 6442.

Registers and Registration

REGISTRATION.

Add 4 to 5 and the sum is 9. 1935+4=1939. And as four years is nowadays the maximum life of a Parliament, we are in for it at latest next year. In any case, early or late, we shall plump for the election being on the register now in preparation.

The Labour Party has issued its usual circular on the subject and has published a registration leaflet. this year the matter is urgent. taries must not neglect to bring this matter and this circular before their Parties. An immense amount can be done to improve the register everywhere, and the time to deal with the tragedy of lost Labour votes is now. The number of removals and young folk who can be found to claim is remarkable where a real all-party effort is made to tackle the job. ten weeks' time it will definitely be too late to secure a vote, Parliamentary or Local Government, in any election before October 15th, 1940. Let this fact, and the further one that Labour challenges an election, spur all Labour Parties to do their utmost this time.

In the usual letter of instructions to Registration Officers (Home Office circular 806,233/3) it is pointed out that this year the last days for objections and claims fall upon a Sunday in each case. The Secretary of State advises that in the circumstances, claims and objections might properly be accepted if received by the first post of the following day, i.e., the Monday, which

is useful.

WANTED—TWICE A YEAR REGISTERS.

The London Labour Party has for a long time been agitating for a reversion to the publication of two registers of electors each year instead of one. Correspondence with the Ministry only seems to evoke an objection on grounds of cost, said to be an additional £500,000 per year.

While we have every sympathy with objections to the present system, we trust that Labour will not overlook the suggestions put forward by the

"Labour Organiser." We consider it ought to be possible for any newly-qualified elector to become registered at once by merely entering his name and qualification at the office of the

registration officer.

It is conceivable that this proposal might actually lessen cost, and at any rate, as it is the nearest approach to adult suffrage that could be got, it ought to be supported by our Party. The continuous work of a registration department, involving the all-the-yearround employment of one or two checkers, commends itself more to us than the employment of numbers of canvassers for two short periods during the year. We believe, too, there is a case for examining the comparative costs; our proposal might be cheaper besides being so much nearer to democratic suffrage.

In the case stated to the Home Office the London Labour Party gave some striking statistics, showing the glaring insufficiency of the present system.

We quote:-

"The following facts relating to the compilation of the present Register, which are, we believe, representative for London, indicate how extensive is the disfranchisement under the yearly Register:—

Borough Approx No on Deleexpiring Register tions Additions

Wandsworth 245,973 49,147 49,539 Islington 200,371 47,181 41,194

"The deletions quoted above amount approximately to 20.0 per cent, in the case of Wandsworth and 23.5 per cent. in Islington. Actually the number of deletions by no means represents the full number of persons who are registered at the abode given on the Register but no longer reside there when an election takes place late in the period for which the Register is operative, by reason of the fact that the Register remains operative until October 15, although deletions date only to the end of the qualifying period, viz., June 1. On this ground alone the number of deletions is increased by one-third before the new Register becomes operative. At

(Concluded on page 95)

Local Labour Newspapers

MAKING A PAPER PAY by Ald. G. BRETT, South Leeds

From time to time "The South Leeds Worker," a Socialist free press, has had mention in your columns, and often I have been asked by colleagues in various parts of the country to send copies and particulars of how we tackle the job of successfully paying our way with a free paper.

The answer is, of course, revenue from advertisers. By that I do not mean national advertisers, or even city advertisers. The revenue is actually earned in the Division itself from the

traders in the Division.

We have now gone a step further, and, in February, we produced the first issue of a second paper, with all the advertising space sold out on the first

issue.

This paper is produced for circulation in one Ward only of the Division, a Tory stronghold, yet despite that, 80 per cent. of the advertising space was sold in the Ward. The issue is 6,000 copies per month, and covers every house in the Ward. The name of the Ward is Beeston, and we have entitled the paper "The Beeston Democrat." The letterpress is exactly the same as that in the "South Leeds Worker." One remarkable fact is that 20 per cent. of the space in "The Democrat" is taken by people advertising in "The Worker" also.

This gives us a free press of 12,000 copies per month; that portion of "The Worker" that used to be distributed in Beeston, is now available for other

parts of the Division.

About four years ago the Tories copied us, and produced a free paper almost a copy of ours in size and make-up, and we have the usual private and non-political free press to contend with. Despite this competition, we have not only maintained the levenue-earning capacity of "The Worker," but have added a new paper with equal earning capacity.

It may be wondered why we did not double the quantity of "The Worker" in place of bringing out a new paper. To have doubled the quantity of "The Worker' was not practical. We could not have demanded double advertising rates. By introducing a new paper, we double our advertising rates by getting new advertisers.

South Leeds believes in printed propaganda and have had really big sales of literature. Last summer nearly 1,000 copies of "Labour's Immediate Programme" was sold by door-to-door methods. Over 1,000 copies of "Your Britain" No. 1 were sold, and during the special week in March 1,170 copies of "Your Britain" were sold in four evenings.

We sell literature by canvassing squads, assisted by loud speaker, and we find the method very successful.

Reverting back to the free press, we have not had more than 10s. in bad debts during the whole period of 13

years.

To successfully run a free press there must be: (a) Local advertising rather than general advertising sought; (b) regularity in publication; (c) honest and regular distribution; (d) collection of accounts every month.

The best advertisers amongst small traders are chemists, radio dealers, drapers, cycle dealers, boot repairers,

cinemas, and opticians.

[The Editor invites the promoters of other local Labour newspapers to tell our readers how them do it—financial details are particularly desired].



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A Special Request is made by the Labour Party to all local correspondents, who are earnestly desired in future to use their Constituency Number on every item of correspondence. The key number of each constituency is to be found in the L.P. Annual Report. We add a few Do's and Dont's on our account.

DO please sign your name (if not printed) in every communication, and so that it can be read. Your address, too. USE BLOCK LETTERS.

DON'T, if you are Miss or Mrs., leave a fellow guessing. Please add somewhere a designation that will ensure replies being correctly addressed to you.

DO please, when notifying changes, mention your Party's name and the

name of the previous officer.

DON'T omit the name of your county or "place town." We have spent hours with the P.O. directory, and the map of England, trying to trace villages that don't exist, and hamlets that are, or ought to be, in Hades. Don't try us again.

DO please stamp your letters properly. Letters do not "go for a ha'penny" if left unsealed. Hefty packages should be weighed at the

Post Office.
DON'T enclose stamps or postal orders with forms in open envelopes. You are "taking a risk," and that's a

fool's game, anyway.

DO please write our address corerctly, and the addresses of others to whom you write. The L.P. annual our Directory, or your own report, Trade Union report may often be used before posting, to save a letter going astray.

DON'T make out cheques for odd halfpennies. Banks don't deal in halfpennies, and this is a particularly mean way (nothing to laugh at) of robbing others. The meanest thief is the sneak

thief.

DO please observe Post Office regulations regarding stamps on postal orders. They must not be stuck anywhere, and, two only are allowed. Odd

halfpennies are not paid.

DON'T tightly roll reports, specimens and newspapers and post to us. We haven't time to unroll, to smooth or iron out the creases. It's an ill-wind, etc.-and our W.P. man gets the benefit.

DO please send photographs, etc., between pieces of cardboard or plyboard. Some excellent faces are spoiled in the post: a young lady who reached us last week, scantily enclosed, possessed more wrinkles than her grandmother.

DON'T post urgent letters late at night, trusting that "they'll go." They do; but next day. Urgent letters should be posted early, generally very early. But night telegraph letters at 30 words for a shilling are worth more general usage.

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NOTICE We regret the necessity of holding over this month the L.P. Directory, several replies to questions, and instructive articles. LOOK OUT FOR NEXT NUMBER!

JACK CUTTER ASKS-

HOW MUCH POPULAR IS THE POPULAR FRONT?

Here is yet another article on the Popular Front, but this one is from the viewpoint of a practical political craftsman as a change from the articles of theorists, Sunday journalists and the uncles and aunties of the political

children's hour.

It puts a few, but by no means all, of the practical objections to the latest agitation for an alliance of the kind suggested by the Editor of Reynolds, on which the Co-operative Party and the Communist Party are split, which the Labour Party rejects, which the I.L.P. scorns, and on which the supposedly sympathetic section of the Liberal Party maintains a discreet silence.

The popular front has received the mild blessing of a section of the Tory press, which naturally welcomes any arrangement which will draw the teeth of the Labour Party and which will result in internal dissensions in, and the speedy fall of, any Government elected on so vague a "policy."

The first essential condition for a Popular Front is that it should be popular. The assumption in this case is that there is a great mass of support for an alliance of "all democratic forces," providing the electoral programme of the alliance is "broad" enough to prevent any antagonisms in any one of the constituent parts. The programme which would meet this condition, we are told, is Mr. Sydney Elliott's United Peace Alliance. What is that programme? Mr. Elliott tells us in a few words in his signed leading article in Reynolds of April 17th, 1938, in which he writes:—

"Here is the programme of the

United Peace Alliance.

"Abroad it would restore the League of Nations. Great Britain, in collaboration with the great Democracies, would lead the world on to Peace and security, would blunt Aggression's sword and submit grievances to the test of social justice. At

home, it would guarantee our civil population against air attack, by abolishing slums, developing the nation's natural resources, uprooting malnutrition and preventing profiteering."

Nice work, but strip it of its flamboyant verbiage and what does it amount to? Support of the League and for social reforms so obvious that even the Fascists claim to uphold them.

We are asked to believe that this tepid policy would be sufficient to fire and enthuse millions into a mighty and irresistible political force; would, in some mysterious manner, compel the "National" Government to come to the country, and in the subsequent election, would cause Tory seats to fall like ninepins so that a triumphant majority of coalition candidates would swarm into the Government benches.

It is argued that if the Labour Party threw aside everything in favour of support for and concentration on this policy there would be immediate cooperation from progressive Liberals, Communists and even some Conservatives. Candidatures would be rearranged (which presumably means that a Labour candidate would withdraw here and there in favour of a Liberal or a Communist, and vice versa). Local co-ordinating committees, or "Councils of Action" would be set up and these would conduct propaganda and run the elections with a mighty host of helpers.

That is what we are seriously asked

to believe.

What evidence have we to back these assumptions? Can we see any concrete proof that Liberals are unitedly eager to join any such alliance? I have asked for it several times and have been referred to an article by A. J. Cummins in the News Chronicle. Mr. Cummins' article, in his usual superior and patronising strain, is so full of cheap and ill-informed gibes at the Labour

Party, that, if he claims to speak for the rank and file of progressive Liberals, he indicates how little of the real spirit we can expect from that source. I have talked to what can reasonably be termed "average Liberals" in the constituencies, and the fact is that enthusiasm for the idea is non-existent, and the amount of practical electioneering service we would secure in the event of a merger is practically nil.

The Communist Party's support, we are told, is wholeheartedly assured. What does this mean, even if it were true? (and there are many Communists who are bitterly opposed to the whole idea of a Popular Front. They claim to be Communists before they are tacticians and hold that any mergers with capitalists is selling the pass). Let us examine this much-advertised Communist support. I need not stress the obvious point that the Tories would use it to the full as a very useful part of their usual scare tactics in electioneering. We could probably handle that all right because the public is beginning to realise that the C.P. is no longer a left-wing Party, having deserted the Materialist Conception of History, the Theory of Surplus Value and Marxian philosophy generally, in favour of any ramshackle alliance with anybody except Fascists and Trotskyists. They have gone back to the old Lib-Lab policy of a touching faith in benevolent Capitalism, and it is very, very difficult to take them seriously. Many of their members have become fed-up with the whole sorry business futile leadership and tortuous tactics, and have either come back to the Labour Party or joined the Trot-Would the co-operation of the remainder win a dozen extra votes in any average constituency which we must win to get a majority?

The fundamental change in official C.P. policy is too sudden to be sincere. It is only a few months since they were conducting a fervent agitation for a United Front of all Working Class Parties against Capitalism. With almost indecent haste they discard the old love for the new. The old love was a flashing brunette in clogs and shawl, with defiant eyes and a Marxian philosophy. She stood four-square for the working class against the Capitalist enemy, and there was no nonsense about her. A comely lass, if a bit of a shrew.

The new love is a simpering blonde with a pale pink motif to her makeup. She fancies herself as a bit of a vamp, and her philosophy is to be nearly all things to nearly all men so long as they don't bore her with inconvenient things like rooted convictions and fundamental principles. She might look good to the C.P., but she smells of mackerel to me!

Then we are informed that there is "a considerable number" of Conservatives who will welcome and support the proposed Popular Front. Will someone please produce a sample dozen, because I cannot find a solitary one. I admit I do not get about among Conservatives much. Only at elections when I am fighting them all the time. Never in drawing-rooms. I'll believe in the existence of these drawing-room Tories, who think it would be a good thing to work with the Labour Party for the overthrow of the Tory "National" Government when I see one

I have put these opinions in debate and have been met with the reply that it is the psychological effect of a Popular Front on the electorate that is the important thing. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, the public are not fools and can detect a stage army with no difficulty.

If we have to argue this matter on a basis of psychology, I want to put

this point:

I do not mind a few Communists and advantage-seeking Liberals seeking a merger with the Labour Movement, but I do strongly object to the psychology behind its advocacy by members of the Labour Party. Their only tenable reason for such advocacy is a belief that the Labour Party cannot on its own resources win a majority at the next election. Some of them quite openly say so and glorify their defeatism as realism. If one points out the by-election results to these faint-hearts, they have the nerve to claim that every victory was won because of non-Labour support.

The fact is that every one was won by a Labour candidate for the Labour Policy; by the Party organisation, wholeheartedly backed by the National Executive and the Parliamentary Party. Of course, we got a measure of Liberal support. We asked for it. But we asked for it and got it for a clear and defined policy and programme covering the whole field of

political endeavour. We convinced these wavering electors of the fact that it was of more vital importance to defeat the Government than to nurse a few grievances about details of policy, which, so far as I can see, is the main theme of the advocates of a popular front.

a straightforward Labour appeal, we did precisely what they say a Popular Front would do. When the election comes we will do the same thing in every division and get every one of the votes visualised by the merger merchants without the future embarrassments, inter-group wanglings and wranglings, internal crises, walkout strikes and stay-in strikes, which such a loosely-constructed, jerry-built and badly-foundationed structure as that planned by Mr. Elliott would certainly produce.

A substantial part of the energy devoted to scheming for reactionary alliances, applied to the effective work of the Party, with confidence and enthusiasm, would bring just that added strength which is sufficient to make a majority certain.

TRADE UNIONISTS AND THE PARTY.

The recent series of district conferences with local Trade Union officers is already bearing fruit. These conferences which were held in every part of the country were well and influentially attended, and the discussions showed that Trade Union officials were now fully alive to the part, they and their rank and file ought to be playing in national politics through the Labour Party. Not since 1918 and the years immediately following have the official ranks of the Trade Unions shown such a keen interest in political This augurs well, but Local Parties need to play their part. Welcomes and opportunities should be extended to Union officials for their co-operation. Mutual jealousies should be things of the past. Those people who imagine that the Trade Union element in local Parties is antique and unwanted are in error equally with the Trade Union section which thinks disparagingly of individual membership and so-called intellectual leading. There are Local Parties of each type: the new situation should save them.

ADDITIONAL CANDIDATURES ENDORSED BY N.E.C. 27th APRIL, 1938.

Berks.: Newbury. Mr. L.

DAVISON, 51, Beech Lane, Ganley, Reading, Berks.

CUMB.: Penrith and Cockermouth, Mr. HAROLD SMITH, 22, Carey Mansions, Rutherford Street, S.W.1.

Lancs.: Accrington. Mr. W. Scott-Elliot, "Arkleton," Langholm, Scotland.

LONDON: Holborn. Mr. K. SINCLAIR LOUTIT, 12, Gt. Ormond Street,

MIDDLX.: Hendon. Mr. REGINALD F. O. BRIDGEMAN, Waxwell Farm Cottage, Pinner, Middlesex. Spelthorne. Mr. G. A. PARGITER, 83, Ranelagh Road, Southall, Middle-

NORTHUMB.: Newcastle East. Mr. ARTHUR BLENKINSOP, 201, Osborne Road, Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Oxon.: Banbury. Mr. Robert S. G, RUTHERFORD, 22, Museum Road, Oxford.

SURREY: Farnham. Mr. T. W. GITTINS, 34, Drayton Park Avenue, West Drayton, Middlesex.

Sussex: Lewes. Mr. F. Wm. Black, "Elstoma," Sutton Drove, Seaford, Sussex.

WARWICKSHIRE: Birmingham, Moseley. Miss Joyce S. Wells, 244, Alcester Road, Birmingham, 13.

Mr. Tom

YORKSHIRE: York. GILLINDER, 18, Amgask Road, Catford, S.E.6. Scarborough and Whitby. FREDERICK PEART, 22, Thornlaw. Thornley, Co. Durham.

SCOTLAND

ABERDEEN SOUTH. Mr. ROBERT BRUCE, 18, Earls' Court Gardens, S.W.5. AYR BURGHS. Mr. WILLIAM ROSS, 7, Kirkholm Avenue, Ayr.

CANDIDATURES WITHDRAWN.

Durham: Sunderland. Mr. J. Hoy, KENT: Hythe. Mr. H. Jackson New-

LONDON: Lewisham, East. Mr. W. L. Kendall.

West. Mr. George Woolwich, Wansbrough.

Norfolk: South. Mr. Colin Clark. Westmorland: Westmorland. Mrs. E. V. Short.



QUESTIONS ANSWERED—

Membership and Non-Residence

UESTION. — Can an affiliated member or an individual member claim the rights of membership in a ward or Division in which he or she does not reside?

A NSWER.—This is the sort of question that can best be answered in relation to a particular case and with all the details to hand. One also wants to know precisely what our questioner means by "the rights of membership."

One reply to this question might be that membership can be obtained without residence, as in the case of a person whose qualification for membership rests upon being registered as a Parliamentary or Local Government elector in a constituency (see National Constitution and all model rules).

Our questioner, we fancy, has more in mind the commoner case of a member who resides in one area and wishes to obtain his membership in another one. This is not permissible under Party rules. But to be meticulous about the matter, it should be pointed out that certain "rights of membership" are obviously exercised in Local Government areas other than their own by the members of D.L.P.s, Central Borough Parties, etc., and in Parliamentary areas by the members of County Federations.

The question, it will be seen, is not quite so simple as it looks, which is why we prefer concrete instances to abstract cases.

Affiliated Candidate not an I.M.

UESTION.—Can an affiliated member be a Local Government candidate?

A NSWER.—What is not expressed in this question, but what it is evidently intended to ask is whether affiliated membership is sufficient qualification, i.e., must every Local Government candidate be an individual member?

The Constitution of the Labour Party lays down that no person may be selected as a Parliamentary candidate who is not an individual mem-ber of the Party. The Constitution does not concern itself with local elections, and the Model Rules for Constituency Parties do not expressly lay down a similar qualification. There might, however, be strong ground for claiming that the principle laid down is binding on all classes of candidates, as indeed some of the condition are. On the other hand, the Model Rules lay down a procedure and a sequence of dates for securing nominations from affiliated organisations wherein this matter is not mentioned.

Some local Parties have adopted rules in which a replica of the national rule is embodied. Parties, however, have this matter in their own hands, for endorsing bodies may withhold endorsement, and small blame to them if they do so on these grounds. However, where difficulties arise, the better course is negotiation and the situation should be exploited with a view to greater recognition and interest in individual membership.

ANSWERS IN BRIEF.

A.L., Birmingham.—We decline to publish your letter, which is more suited to the columns of the Daily Worker than to ours. We suggest to you that during your fifteen years' membership you have never been in sympathy with Party objects; that you have fallen into every flat-trap, fluke and fizzle which has come along; and that your flaunted "sacrifice and service for 15 years" has resolved itself into an orgy of malicious mischief-making and cankerous criticism. Unfortunately, we have no common language. You don't understand the terms "Socialism" or "organisation." will your arguments, your example, or your pestilent references to Leaders, M.P.s, and Labour journalists alike, ever attract a single convert to

Socialism. Get out!

C., Derby.-We agree. You cannot make silk purses out of sows' ears. But isn't silk itself a staple and useful industry up your way, made not from worms, but lower down the scale— from the vegetable kingdom? And, anyway, who's got sows' ears? Certainly our Movement in Derby doesn't deserve the reflection, and in few places are Labour's rank and file so inferior as to earn this jibe. You may not be content with our M.P.s, our candidates, our National E.C., our leading speakers and writers, but strip the men of the other side of their titles, their affectations, educational advantage, dress and "swank," and, man for man, Labour men are easily first. And, by the way, it is debatable whether sows' ears are not intrinsically of greater value than silk purses!

R.O., Newcastle.—The Model Rules for Constituency Parties leave open certain rules so that Party machinery may be adapted to local circumstances. Drastic amendments are undesirable, and local rules, after adoption and approval by Headquarters, ought to be

printed and circulated.

Exam.—The fact that your motoring offence was committed while electioneering hardly brings your difficulty within the scope of those dealt with in these columns. However, the person wheeling his bicycle whom you collided with on the pedestrian crossing, was, in our opinion, a pedestrian, and you should have stopped and given him right of way. You have a poor case, and it is no excuse that had you stopped after the accident four voters would have been too late to vote. We see the prospect of several charges being made against you, and if the case comes into court, your best course is to plead guilty, explain the facts, and hope for a sympathetic Bench!

C.C., Manchester.—The law says that "every bill, placard or poster having reference to an election shall bear upon the face thereof the name and address of the printer and publisher. Letter heads and envelopes are outside these provisions, but if you use letter headings for general circularisation or envelopes with a slogan or message, the becomes necessary. printer ought not to be given as the publisher in the place of the agent or other responsible person.

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SOME REPORTS AND BALANCE SHEETS.

Rugby D.L.P. is a Party to be congratulated on last year's work. While many Parties, certainly in the early part of the year, experienced hard times, Rugby set to work to obtain ten new members per week—and succeded; 560 members were added during the year; the membership income was raised from £71 in 1936 to £136 in 1937; and the Membership Secretary became the full-time agent. Not an "easy" Division, Rugby is pointing the way.

Maryhill D.L.P. annual report is a refreshing document, and we wish we had space to do justice to it and to others. In every sphere energy is displayed and progress shown. For membership, literature sales, and distribution particularly, are our comrades to be commended.

Durham D.L.P. report, which we always look forward to, is solid; and it is readable outside the constituency and useful all the year round to Labour within it. But there are no outstanding features except a new determination to raise its 625 membership to proportions worthy of the Labour vote.

West Fulham's annual report cannot be reviewed without regard to the recent victory. And what relation did that triumph have to the paragraph which states that a membership campaign was launched under the direction of the agent, which raised the membership from 1,152 to 2,332, an increase of 1,180? Contributions totalled £273 6s. 1d., an increase of £90 8s. 4d.

Central Hackney L.P. present a useful year's work, and a table which interests us shows how the electorate here have in recent years turned over to Labour. Efforts have been initiated to make this year a special one for membership results. We are interested to note that this Party has a solicitor regularly in attendance for giving

advice to Party members. Last year there were 733 applicants for advice; compensation in certain cases was recovered to the tune of £3,232 78. 9d.!

S. Kensington D.L.P. submit a report which tells of earnest effort and premises for the Party; but no balance sheet. But then here we are amongst "the nobs" (though there are really lots of others in those grandiose houses —it's finding them!) But the finance of the people's Party is probably what we expect it to be! Take courage, comrades. Socialism has a message even for Darkest Kensington!

Chingford (Epping Division) Labour Party's report is another of those human documents in which one reads between the lines a story of endeavour and of aspiration. One wishes for space—and a handshake! Here's a note: "The Literature Secretary has authority to acquire new publications to a number representing to per cent. of our membership." Excellent idea! As membership grows, sales grow. Now then, you big membership Parties! And who's for increasing the percentages?

We note from the annual report of the Pontypool D.L.P. that a week-end school is being organised by the women to which the D.L.P. will grant a free scholarship to the woman member enrolling the largest number of individual members.

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY.

From the Annual Report of the Cooperative Party, presented to the recent Annual Conference, we gather that affiliated membership now stands 4,964,856. The percentage of the Cooperative Movement's total membership now affiliated to the Co-operative The number Party is 67.96. Societies affiliated is 491. £12,036 178. 4d. was received by the Party in affilia-The balance in tion fees last year. hand amounted to £22,254. Eight endorsed Co-operative Parliamentary candidates are now in the field.

